6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Conference at Many Glaciers Lodge in Glacier National Park. Six of the governors who visited the encampment were honored by adoption and given names, and the Governor of Virginia was selected to respond for the others. He began by remarking that the people of Virginia felt a special and warm regard for the Indians. "If it had not been for the help of the Indians the Jamestown settlement would not have survived that first winter." A Blackfeet standing beside me gave me a dig in the ribs with his elbow and said, "that's the day we lost the war."

The encampment also provides the opportunity for other forms of social expression. Medicine bundles are opened with attendant prayers, dances, and face-painting. Men may be "captured" to become members of the Dog society, an honor that must be paid for in goods or cash. People visit from tepee to tepee, drink coffee, eat, and talk. Sometimes one or more of the elderly Indian-oriented leaders will provide a lunch of boiled beef, bread, salad, doughnuts, cookies, cake, and coffee to all who wish to come.

By midafternoon a stick game or two gets under way near one of the concesion booths behind the tent area and usually continues until dawn. Sometimes known as the "hand game," this is a popular and widely known Indian gambling game. All that is required is space, two poles, planks, or timbers placed about three feet apart parallel to each other, two "bones," or short wooden cylinders about ½ inch in diameter and two inches long, one banded and the other plain, and some plain sticks about ten to twelve inches long, usually ten to a side to use as markers. Two teams line up facing each other behind each pole. One person starts the game by intently shuffling, showing, and after many flourishes hiding the bones, one in each hand. His team chants and drums with sticks on the pole in front of them to give him support and to confuse the opposition during the hiding. Finally he extends his hands so that one of the players on the other side can choose by one of several signs which hand holds the unmarked bone. If the "guesser" fails to choose correctly, his side forfeits one of their marker sticks and the "hider" tries again; if he guesses correctly, the bones and roles change sides. The game is over when one side wins all of the marker sticks. Bets between individuals, both participants and onlookers, are placed before the game begins and other bets are made frequently on the results of individual guesses. There are many variations in the procedure that I have not mastered. A bettor gets a lot of action for his money whether he fully understands what is happening or not. The drumming, chanting, joking, as well as the strain of waiting for the outcome of a game in which large sums of money are at stake, contribute to an exciting time.

People spend the rest of the time during the encampment doing the necessary chores of camp living and enjoying the pastimes appropriate to sex and age—the children play games, older people work on costumes, play blackjack, visit, loaf, or go into town.

In spite of this being a community enterprise with fairly large crowds that are attracted to it, the people in relatively continuous attendance are the Indian-oriented. The people who camp on the grounds and participate in the festivities include and appear to be like the men I interviewed and classed as Indian-oriented. In retrospect, I would sort the onlookers into four categories: (a) Indian-oriented spectators from many parts of the reservation who spend much time on

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

A round dance for couples—everybody is invited to dance whether in costume or not.

A give-away ceremony.

summer and fall. Horse owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turn out to visit and watch the horses run. Interregional rivalry is often intense. The fastest horses become well-known so the outcome of the races often turns on the weight and ability of the jockey and the possibility of gaining an advantage at the start. Much time is spent in getting the betting arranged, so that two or three races are about all that can be run in an afternoon.

Stick games are often played after the races, and at Heart Butte the games are a regular part of the year-around weekend activities. A public room arranged

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

for playing the stick game as well as pool and cards was a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte until it burned down a few years ago. The weekly stick games have moved to a new location on Badger Creek.

The horse races attract some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority of the crowd is Indian-oriented. Races are occasions for Indian rivalry and above all to enjoy each other's company. The stick games have a regular but more limited following and with few exceptions, players and observers are Indian-oriented.

Song services are meetings of the singing groups and serve both as practice sessions and as forms of social gathering for the people involved. The sessions are usually held in the home of one of the singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kinsmen and friends—young and old, men and women—attend and the evening is spent in singing and drumming old and new songs. The sessions break up at the discretion of the singers and may be followed by a late supper.

Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant and newspaper reports) are religious rituals to which guests are invited. The reports indicate that those in attendance are always people of Indian-orientation. Some are believers and others are sympathetic but noncommitted members of the participants' families. The activities on these occasions are determined by the ritual of the particular bundle or cure, but involve singing, drumming, prayers and some dancing by selected participants. The owner of the bundle regularly paints the faces of those in attendance as a mark of prayer for their well being. Bundle opening ceremonies are followed by a feast. One such ceremony held at Starr School was described by one of the neighbors:

> The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home of Jim and Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and sudden cold. There were many people from Browning out to see this rare dance, that has long been forgotten. Among those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the many people of our community. The dance began with the rythmic [sic] beating on hides to certain songs. The bundle was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides. The bundle consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that are of help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter for "speed," the ermine for "beauty," the swan for "grace" and the little birds for their endurance of the cold in the winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a most graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground, Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs Fish, Annie Old Person, Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with sticks in their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a monstrous amount of energy was put into the dancing and singing. A delicious berry soup, boiled meat, fried bread and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of the dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small deer hooves and punches a man in the crowd and it goes on until everyone is dancing. It was a most enjoyable occasion for a grand time was had by all (*Glacier Reporter*, October 12, 1961:6).

This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

THE STAFF OF LIFE

Women who dressed thousands of robes for the fur trade each year also prepared hairy buffalo robes for the winter overclothing and bedding of their own families. Robes were cut up to make hair-lined mittens, winter caps with ear flaps, winter moccasins, and ceremonial headdresses.

Soft-dressed buffalo skins without the hair were used for lodge covers and linings, for pad saddles, and for winding sheets for the dead. The smoke-softened upper portions of old, worn lodge covers were salvaged, cut up, and reused for breechclouts and items of winter clothing—men's and boys' shirts, women's and girls' dresses, and leggings for both sexes. The thinner skins of buffalo calves were made into tobacco pouches and winter underpants worn by girls and women.

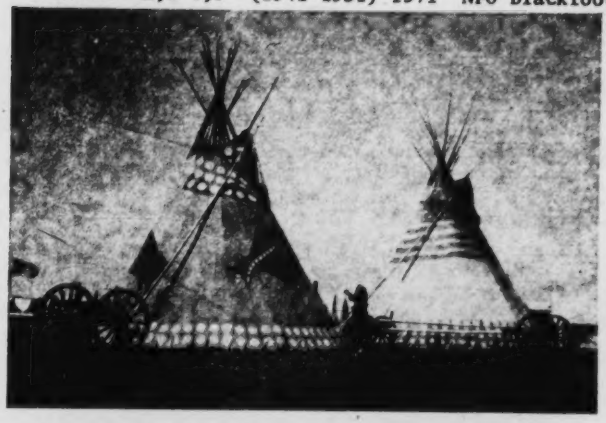
Buffalo horns made practical powder flasks for Blackfoot warriors. Horns were also fashioned into spoons, cups, and ladles. The long, shaggy hair of the head, beard, and shoulders was braided into rope halters and bridles. Hair supplied the soft stuffing for pad saddles and balls used in games. Hair ornaments hung from lodges, headdresses, and war clubs. The buffalo's tail also was used for tipi ornaments. Mounted on a stick, the tail served as a fly brush. Buffalo hoofs strung on rawhide cords made noisy rattles. The scrotum of a bull provided a durable stirrup cover. The Blackfoot Indians derived their best glue from a bull's phallus, cut into small pieces and boiled.

No less useful were many of the internal parts of this animal. Buffalo sinew supplied thread for sewing and a strong, flat cord for binding heads and feathers to arrowshafts. Bow strings and bow backings were both of twisted bull sinew. The brains, liver, and fat were rubbed into hides to soften them during the skin-dressing process. Buffalo fat also was used to polish stone tobacco pipes and to mix with earth pigments to provide an oily base for paints. A yellow paint could be obtained from the buffalo's gallstone. Water buckets were made from the paunch, and the bladder was used as a bag for marrow grease.

The boss rib of a buffalo made a serviceable tool for straightening arrowshafts. A series of curved ribbones furnished the runners for a boy's sled.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

342
532



Painted lodges in the sun dance encampment near Browning, Montana (1942).

524

Stick game in progress at sun dance encampment near Heart Butte (1944).

BOTH COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE PLAINS INDIAN

[facing p. 110]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE BLACKFEET [ca. 1850]

524 A measure of the fun-loving nature of the Blackfeet may be judged from the great number and variety of their games and
524 amusements for young and old. Children's play varied with their
857 ages, with the sexes, and with the seasons. It had real educational value. In their play children imitated many of the activities of
524 their elders and so painlessly prepared themselves for the re-
857 sponsibilities of adult life. At play girls learned the rudiments
868 of baby care, craftwork, housekeeping, and moving camp. Boys' competitive sports were rowdy enough to toughen their bodies and varied enough to develop their agility and skill in the use of weapons. This play helped to improve their bodily co-ordination and gave them valuable practice in making quick, sure decisions in the midst of action—excellent training for the future
524 hunter and warrior. Adults found relaxation from the cares and tensions of daily life in games of skill or chance and in spectator
[525] sports. The common custom of gambling on the outcome intensified their interest in these activities.

Older children made their own playthings and gaming equipment. Little children's toys were made for them by their elders. A little girl of six or seven years who accompanied her grandmother into the brush to collect firewood might beg the old woman to make her a birch doll. The grandmother would cut a section of a birch limb about one foot long and four inches in diameter with her axe. She used her butcher knife to cut a groove around the piece about four inches from one end. This formed the doll's shoulder line. Above this line she whittled a crude, knob-like head and bored little holes in one side of the knob to suggest eyes, nose, and mouth. The simple doll had no ears, hair, or legs. The body retained the unaltered form of the birch cylinder below the shoulder line. Little girls clothed these dolls by simply wrapping a piece of buckskin or trade cloth around the cylinder.

As girls grew older, they wanted more realistic dolls. Then their mothers or grandmothers made them dolls with arms and legs as well as heads of skin or trade cloth stuffed with grass. The facial features were delineated with thread or trade beads.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

524

These well-proportioned dolls were clothed in miniature garments very much like those worn by women of the tribe—skin dresses, leggings, moccasins, and robes. Human or horse hair was sewn to the head to complete the illusion of reality.

Adults made an ingenious hobbyhorse for small boys and girls to ride. A fairly heavy tree with a double bend in it was selected and felled. The bark was peeled off, and the thick, lower end placed in a hole in the ground deep enough so that the bend in the trunk would appear about thirty inches above the ground. Sometimes a carved wooden horse head was attached to the front and a stick or bundle of horsehair tied to the rear of this hobbyhorse to make it look more like a real animal. The child mounted astride the horizontal bend in the log. He might throw a piece of buffalo hide or an old saddle over the bend in the log, tie rawhide reins to the upper projection, and carry a stick for a whip while he rode as fast and furiously as his fertile imagination would permit. This toy was known as "crooked-buttocks shape."

Little boys themselves made toy horses from willow branches more than a foot in length. One end of the branch was split along the center; half of this split portion was turned up to form the head and neck, the other half turned down to make the forelegs. The other end of this branch was similarly split, and one half bent to make the tail, the other to provide the legs. In summer small boys playing along a stream bank made miniature horses of clay. While the clay was soft, they placed sticks in the end of each leg. When the modeled clay hardened in the sun, they could stand their horses in the earth. Boys swimming in summer sometimes collected flat stones and set them up in the sand beside the river. Pretending the stones were horses, they moved them about and confined them in little stick corrals.

In spring, small boys and girls played house. The boys snared gophers, peeled off the skins, turned them inside out, and filled them with grass to dry. Girls gathered sticks for foundation poles and sewed the skins together to make miniature tipi covers. Gopher skins were placed inside the lodges much as buffalo robes were used in their parents' homes for seats and bedding. Girls

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 also made miniature travois, parfleches, and other containers for use in playing at moving camp. They tied the luggage on the travois and attached the travois to a long forked stick. This stick played the role of the travois horse. The sharp lower end was pushed into the ground to hold up the travois when camp was "on the move." A doll rode in the fork of the stick like a woman astride her travois horse.[3]

Children made other crafts solely for their own amusement. In summer they pulled long strands of tough "earring grass" and wove them into little cups and baskets. In fall, when the leaves were changing colors, little girls collected cottonwood leaves and folded and tore them into the form of little tipis. They placed the brightly colored "tipis" in a circle and imagined them to be a great sun dance encampment of painted lodges. In early winter girls gathered silverberries, boiled them, and strung their gray seeds on sinew cords for necklaces.

526 Occasionally girls played a kind of crack-the-whip. Seven or eight girls formed a line, each girl holding on to the one in front of her by the waist. As the leader walked along she sang "Skunk with no hair on the backbone." Then she ran and tried to swing the line so that she could turn and tag the last girl in line. The girl at the back of the line could not let go of the one in front of her, but she could duck or move her body to avoid the outstretched hand of the leader. If this girl was tagged, she became the leader, and the girl in front of her became the last one in line.

Boys' play was both more active and more varied. Boys played at mimic hunting and warfare. When there was plenty of fresh meat in camp after a buffalo hunt, a group of boys tied a piece of meat to a long rawhide rope. One of them dragged the meat along the ground while the others ran after him with their bows and arrows, shooting at the meat. From time to time the lead boy stopped and pawed the ground with his feet, imitating the actions of a buffalo bull. Then he swung the meat in a circle around his head while the other boys continued to shoot at it.

[3] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 225-27.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

If a boy was accidentally hit by a blunt-headed arrow, he fell down groaning, and the other boys squeezed the juices from weeds and pretended to doctor him.[4]

In winter, boys hunted rabbits; in early summer, gophers and birds. When hawks were hatched in June or July, boys took the baby birds from their nests. They made a woven cage of willow withes about eighteen inches in diameter and hemispherical in shape. Sometimes they kept the hawks in the cage all winter, feeding them on gophers and other small animals. When camp was moved, the hawk cage was placed on top of a travois load. The next spring, boys used the hawk feathers for fletching their arrows.

In spring, boys played the "clay war game." They went to a river bank where there was plenty of soft, wet clay. Each boy cut a willow stick about six feet long. They divided into two groups of equal numbers. Each group made a supply of clay balls about two inches in diameter. Then the opposing groups faced each other about seventy-five yards apart. The object of the game was to fit a ball of wet clay to the end of the willow rod and swing it with such force that the pellet flew through the air and hit one of the opponents. Older men who played this game in their boyhood said the pellets traveled "like bullets" and "they sure hurt if they hit you."

At the summer sun dance encampment boys held another throwing contest. Each boy cut himself a willow rod a little thicker than a lead pencil and a little over two feet long. He peeled the bark off and hardened the stick in a fire. These sticks were thrown for distance, the stick sliding along the ground as far as possible. Each boy held the back of his stick between his thumb and two fingers. Informants claimed some boys could make one of these "sliding sticks" travel about one hundred yards. The boy who threw his stick the farthest took all the sticks of his competitors. In a variant of this game, boys threw their sliding sticks toward a distant stake placed in the ground. The one whose stick came to rest nearest the stake was the winner.

[4] Joseph K. Dixon, *The Vanishing Race*, 111.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 riderless sleds down the slope to see which one could travel the greatest distance. Sometimes, too, a group of boys and girls of about the same age played "hunting the buffalo." First a group of girls started coasting downhill on buffalo hides. They were the buffalo. Then boys, representing hunters, followed on their sleds. When all piled up at the bottom of the hill, each boy would poke a girl in the pit of the stomach and shout, "I kill you now."

There were several other children's games played in snow. The children tried to see who could hop the farthest on one leg in deep snow. In another contest, boys on one side tossed a small boy from the other side in a buffalo robe or blanket. They tried to toss him so high he would cry out that he had had enough. If they could make him do that, they won; if they could not, the other side was declared the winner. A variation of that game was one in which boys of one side held a buffalo robe stretched tightly, on which a small boy of the other side stood. At the same time a boy on the ground took a deep breath and repeated the sound "tups, tups, tups." If the boy fell off the shaky buffalo robe before the other one was out of breath, his side lost. If he remained standing after the other boy lost his breath, his side won.

524 Boys spun tops on the snow or ice. Each boy had a birchwood top about two and one-half inches high, tapering from a diameter of one and one-half inches above to a point at the base. He started his top spinning with a quick twist of the wrist and kept it turning by stroking it occasionally with the deerskin lashes of a willow-handled whip. Tops were spun on hard-trampled snow or, more often, on a thin covering of snow on the river ice.

A favorite top game was played on a circular track of packed snow about twenty feet in diameter. At intervals, little cross trenches were dug in the snow. Two boys tried to see which of them could spin his top the greatest distance around the circle. It required considerable skill to whip the moving top so that it would jump one of the trenches and keep spinning after it landed

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

on the other side of it. The winner took the loser's top as a forfeit.

Another top game was played on smooth river ice, substituting round stones about the size of a man's fist for the wooden tops. Two boys started their stones spinning rapidly, then whipped them together as hard as they could. The boy whose stone cracked the other one or continued to spin the longest after the collision was the winner.

When it was snowing, boys and girls enjoyed sliding on the river ice. They ran and, as they began to slide, started to repeat the phrase, "Man, it's sure true." They tried to say this phrase (in Blackfoot, of course) as many times as they could before they came to a stop. When there was snow on the river ice, girls cleared a long path in a large oval. Sometimes it followed the river around a bend and back. Then the best "skater" started sliding over the ice on moccasined feet. The others fell in behind. Round and round they skated, vying with one another to see who could go the fastest.

On clear, cold, moonlight nights boys and girls gathered on the river. Boys sat on their rib-bone sleds and the girls pulled them over the ice. At other times boys broke off chunks of ice or sat on old metal frying pans while they held the girls' dresses and were pulled about on the river ice. Then boys took turns pulling the girls.[8]

As boys and girls grew into teen-agers, they gave up children's amusements, but they did not abandon their love of sports. Young men and women played a kind of shinny, called "batting ours," with a hair-stuffed, skin-covered ball about the size of a baseball and curved sticks of wild cherry. On a field of play more than one hundred yards long there was a goal at each end marked by upright stakes about four feet apart. There were usually ten to fifteen persons on each side. To start the contest, the ball was tossed into the air at midfield, and play continued

[8] John C. Ewers, "Some Winter Sports of Blackfoot Indian Children," *The Masterkey*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, 180–87.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 until one side succeeded in hitting the ball between the goal posts defended by their opponents. It was a fast, rough game. Sometimes the teams struggled for hours, hitting the ball all over the field before a goal was scored. Boys sometimes took advantage of this game to do a bit of playful flirting with the girl contestants. Food was prepared before the game. At game's end it was served to members of the winning team.

Another teen-agers' ball game played by both sexes together or by girls only was known as the "Cree Women's game." The players stood in a circle about twenty feet in diameter. One of them threw a hair-stuffed ball, a little larger than the one used in the shinny game, toward a player on the opposite side of the circle, who hit it back with his or her fists. The object was to keep the ball in the air. As soon as it fell to the ground all the players scrambled for it, trying to pick it up and put it back in play as quickly as possible. This primitive volleyball game demanded both speed and agility of those who played it well.

524 Mature women preferred less strenuous and more sedentary games. The "travois game" was their favorite. It was played by two women, seated opposite each other, with five flat pieces of buffalo bone, each about six inches long and three-fourths of an inch wide and tapering to blunt ends. Four of these bones were marked on one side with meandering, incised lines, called "snakes." The fifth bone bore incised bands near each end. To start the game one woman cast the four snake-marked bones from a hollow shank-bone shaker on the ground or a blanket. If all four bones landed snake-side up, she was declared the winner. However, that rarely happened. If one or more of the bones remained plain-side up, the player was allowed eight attempts to turn them all snake-side up by casting the fifth bone at them spear fashion. Then a count was kept of the upturned snake-marked bones and the opponent took her turn. When one of the players gained a point total agreed upon in advance, she won the game.

525 When two expert players matched their skill and luck in the "travois game," they usually were surrounded by men and

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

women who bet robes, parfleches, travois, weapons, horses, and other valuables on their favorite.[6]

Another popular women's gambling game was seen among the Piegans more than 150 years ago by David Thompson. Small pieces of wood, each marked to represent different counts, were placed in a wooden bowl, thrown into the air, and caught in the bowl. Then the marks on the upturned surfaces of the rude dice were counted. The bowl passed from contestant to contestant until one of them gained the number of points they had decided would be required to win the game.[7]

A variant of our children's guessing game of "button, button, who's got the button" has been a very popular gambling game among the Blackfeet for more than a century and a half. The Blackfeet called it "fancy gambling." In its most simple form this game was played with two short cylindrical lengths of bone small enough to be completely hidden in a man's clenched fist. One bone was unmarked, the other had a narrow band of rawhide wrapped around its center. The contestants sat facing each other, with a lodgepole on the ground between them. A member of one side was chosen to hide the bones. While his teammates sang and beat upon the lodgepole with short clubs, he swayed with the music and moved his hands back and forth in front of or behind his body, passing the bones from hand to hand to confuse the opposition further. One of his opponents had to guess which hand held the marked bone. If he guessed wrong, the first side scored a point and continued to hide the bones. If he guessed correctly, his side scored a point and gained the right to hide the bones. Twelve willow sticks served as counters, and the game continued until one side won them all.

In the old days this was one of a series of games played between men's societies during the summer tribal encampment.

[6] Wissler, "Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians, AMNH *Anth. Papers*, Vol. VII, 60–61. Describes a more complex variant of "the travois game."

[7] Thompson observed this game before 1800, and Bradley mentioned it in the 1870's, but Wissler's informants did not describe it to him in the first decade of the present century (Thompson, *Narrative*, 359–60; Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. IX, 277).

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Both contestants and onlookers bet on the outcome. The stakes were horses, robes, guns, and even the clothing on their backs. Some heavy betters lost everything they owned.[8]

The men's societies also competed in the wheel game. One society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If he accepted the tobacco, his society accepted the challenge also. If he feared the skill of the rival society at this game, he might return the tobacco to the challengers. They then presented the tobacco as a gift to the sun.

The playing field was a level stretch of ground about thirty feet long, with a log placed across the course at each end. Before the game began, members of each society gathered around one of the logs and sang their ritual songs. Each society carefully selected as its representative one of its members who possessed an outstanding war record and who was adept at this game.

The wheel used as a moving target in this game was a small hoop, about three inches in diameter, made from the fire-hardened neck cord of a buffalo. Inside the hoop were five or more spokes of rawhide cord and a small opening in the center. The spokes were strung with beads, a different color being used for each spoke, and each color representing a different kind or color of horse (red for sorrel, copper for bay, yellow for buckskin, white, and black). Each contestant carried an arrow-like pole about three feet long with a metal head and feathering.

Spectators lined the sides of the course, many of them betting on the outcome of the contest. They were silent as the two players stepped on the course. Each of these contestants raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each man then declared his target on the wheel in terms of his own war experience. One might call out, "I took a white horse from the Flatheads. I shall

[8] Thompson, *Narrative*, 360–61. A century and a half later this is still a popular gambling game among the Blackfoot Indians. It is now commonly referred to as "the stick game."

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Tools, utensils, and crafts media—Continued
- Fuel (dung).
- Fly brushes (tail on stick).
- Glue, used in arrow making (boiled phallus).
- Skin softening agents (brains, fat, and liver).
- Thread (sinew, occasionally rawhide).
- Pipe-polishing medium (fat).
- Paint-mixing medium (fat).
- Paint brushes (hip bone or shoulder blade).
- Quill flattener (horn).
- Tool for dehairing rope, (skull).

Riding and transport gear:
- Frame-saddle covering (rawhide).
- Pad-saddle covering (soft skin).
- Pad-saddle stuffing (hair).
- Saddle-rigging straps (rawhide).
- Stirrup coverings (scrotum or rawhide).
- Martingales, simple form (rawhide).
- Cruppers, simple form (rawhide).
- Parfleches (rawhide).
- Rectangular saddlebags (rawhide).
- Cylindrical saddlebags (rawhide).
- Dougle-bags (rawhide).
- "Gros Ventres bags" (soft skin).
- Tobacco pouches (calfskin).
- Berry bags (unborn calfskin).
- Bridles (rawhide or hair).
- Honda ring (horn).
- Hackamores (rawhide).
- Lariats (rawhide).
- Picket ropes (rawhide).
- Hobbles (rawhide).
- Saddle blankets (skin or robe).
- Saddle housings (robe).
- Travois hitches (rawhide).
- Pole hitches (rawhide).
- Miscellaneous tie strings (rawhide).
- Horse blankets (robe, or top of old lodge).
- Horse-watering troughs (rawhide).
- Horseshoes (rawhide).

Recreational equipment:
- Boys' sleds (rib runners, skin seat).
- Girls' sleds (large pieces rawhide).
- Ball stuffing (hair).
- Hoop and pole game hoop netting (rawhide).

Ceremonial and religious paraphernalia:
- Sun Dance altars (skull).
- Bindings for Sun Dance lodge rafters (strips of hide with hair).
- Rattles (hoofs and rawhide).
- Horse masks (skin and horn).
- Winding sheets for dead (skin or robe).
- Beaver bundle headdress (hide with hair).
- Matoki (Woman's Society) headdresses (hide with hair).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE HORSE IN RECREATION

The horse played a prominent role in the leisure time activities of Blackfoot children and adults in 19th century buffalo days.

THE HORSE IN CHILDREN'S PLAY

Some of the toys of Blackfoot children were designed to help them imitate the daily activities of their elders in their play. Bradley (1923, p. 275) reported that girls "built miniature lodges, collected bundles of wood and made travails." The little lodges, travois and other small-scale reproductions of camp equipment were packed on toy horses in playing "moving camp." The conventionalized horse was a forked stick, the basal end of which was pushed into the ground to support the travois and equipment when not being moved (fig. 31). Girls aged about 6 to 9 years engaged in this play, as recently as ca. 1910.

FIGURE 31.—Blackfoot girl playing "moving camp," with a conventionalized stick horse, doll, and miniature lodge and household equipment.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 85 Lazy Boy recalled that when he was a small boy he and his sister played with little willow horses. Each was simply but cleverly fashioned by splitting one end of a willow branch and bending the split portion to make the head and forelegs, and splitting the other end of the same piece and bending them to form the tail and hind legs of the horse. Boys about 8 to 12 years of age made and played with these crude horse toys. Indians born since buffalo days were familiar with the pattern. They had played with these toys themselves. In 1942, a middle-aged Piegan woman made two of these willow horses for my small daughter. One of them is shown on plate 12A. It measures 14¼ inches long by 10¼ inches high. The saddle is not typical of the woman's saddle of buffalo days.

Wissler (1911, p. 54) was informed that "small boys often played at owning, stealing and tending horses, using rude images of mud or selected stones of appropriate form." Informants recalled that boys 8 to 12 years of age, made miniature horses of clay from a river bank in summer. They would place sticks in the end of each leg while the clay was soft. When the clay dried they could stand the horses in the earth by means of these sticks. Some of the clay horses were as much as a foot long. Boys who had been in swimming in summer sometimes collected flat stones and set them up in the sand beside the river, pretending the stones were horses. They would move them about, make little corrals of sticks for these horses, etc.

An ingenious hobbyhorse, known as "crooked buttocks shape," was made from a fairly heavy tree having a double bend in it. Adults procured these pieces, peeled off the bark, and placed the heavy end in a hole in the ground. The small boy or girl would mount astride it and pretend to ride it. Sometimes a carved wooden horse head was attached to the front of it and a stick or bundle of horsehair tied to the rear to make it look more like a horse. The child might throw a piece of buffalo hide or an old saddle on it and tie reins of rawhide to the upward projection. Sometimes an adult presented one of these hobbyhorses to a favored child of a prominent man and received property in return (fig. 32). Wissler (1911, p. 53) apparently referred to this type of hobbyhorse, although his description is lacking in detail.[171]

[171] Similar types of children's play were common among other Plains Indian tribes. Cheyenne and Arapaho girls played moving camp with miniature horse made of forked sticks (Michelson, 1932, p. 3; 1933, p. 898). In 1840, Tixier (1940, p. 235) was amused by the play of little Osage girls. "One walked on all fours like a horse loaded with luggage; after unloading her, her friends helped her to build a small lodge with stakes and a blanket; then all together, horses and horsewomen, going in laughing. On other occasions they drove some pegs in the ground, making a sort of horse with it, and practiced climbing on its back." Teton Dakota boys rode wooden hobbyhorses. Sometimes they placed a saddle on a fallen tree and pretended to ride it. Teton boys and girls pretended to be horses and carried packs, while boys of those tribes carried one another on all fours (i. e., "horseback") (Dorsey, 1891, pp. 329, 343). Both Teton and Cheyenne boys played with mud images of horses (Dorsey, 1891, p. 335; Grinnell, 1923, vol. 1, p. 65).

A A [See category 524, p. 358-K--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

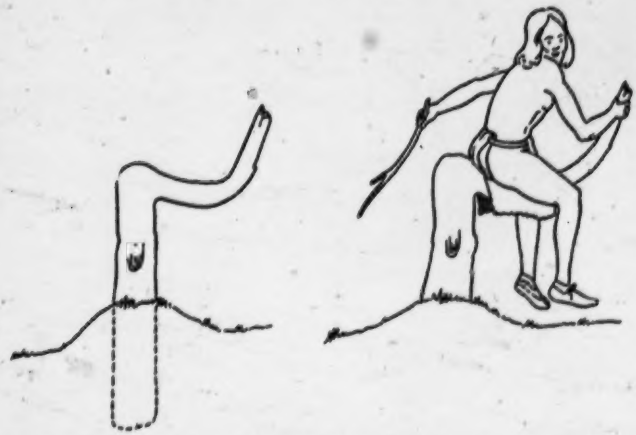


FIGURE 32.—Construction and use of a child's hobbyhorse, Blackfoot.

Lazy Boy said that by the time Blackfoot boys were 10 or more years of age they abandoned play with toy horses for the more serious and responsible activity of tending their families' horse herds. Girls also had little time for such play after they were called upon to help their mothers with household chores.

At the Heart Butte Sun Dance encampment on the Blackfeet Reservation, Mont., in the summer of 1944, I watched three small boys, aged about 10 years, playing at bull dozing and calf roping in imitation of these modern rodeo events. In the game of calf roping one boy played the part of the calf, another the horse, and the third the rider. The horse carried the rider after the "calf." When the rider roped the "calf" he jumped off and bound the "calf's" hands and feet together with a small rope (pl. 12, *A*). In the game of bull dozing the rider attempted to grab the "steer" around the neck and shoulders and wrestle him to the ground. Such play is of recent origin, of course. However, in spirit it is akin to the "horse play" of Blackfoot children in buffalo days.

HORSE RACING

David Thompson wrote of the Piegan ca. 1800, "They have also sometimes horse racing, but not in the regular manner; but bets between individuals in running down animals, as the Red and Jumping Deer, or the killing of so many Cow Bisons at a single race" (Thompson, 1916, p. 359). It is possible Thompson had not been in Blackfoot encampments in late summer, the traditional horse racing

A [See category 857, p. 358-K--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

HORSES AS STAKES IN GAMBLING

Games and gambling were almost synonymous among the Blackfoot. Participants and/or spectators bet on the outcome of nearly all games of skill or chance. Small boys wagered their arrows and wooden tops in their games. As they grew older and acquired more valuable possessions they bet more heavily. In describing the gambling of Piegan men ca. 1800, David Thompson (1916, p. 361) wrote: "The stakes are Bison Robes, clothing, their tents, horses, and Arms, until they have nothing to cover them but some old robe fit for saddle cloths. They have some things they never gamble, as all that belongs to their wives and children, and in this the tent is frequently included; and always the Kettle, as it cooks the meat of the children, and the Axe as it cuts wood to warm them. The dogs and horses of the women are also exempt."

In my informants' youth horses were common stakes in gambling on horse races, foot races, the hoop and pole game, and the stick or hand game. Some young men were both luckless and inveterate gamblers, who lost all their horses and were forced to return again and again to enemy camps to recoup their losses. Their love of gambling kept them poor and at the same time kept them active as horse raiders.[74]

[74] Bolier (1868, p. 160) mentioned Hidatsa-Mandan betting of horses on hoop and pole games ca. 1860. He added "I have frequently seen Indians play until they had lost everything." Denig (1930, pp. 567–569) wrote that gambling of horses was common among all the Upper Missouri tribes, saying "There are some who invariably lose and are poor all their lives." Even the Flathead, whose numerous "Christian virtues" were recognized by fur traders, missionaries, and Government officials, loved to gamble and employed horses as common stakes (Ewers, 1948 a, pp. 18–19). Certainly gambling was one of the common media by which horses changed hands among the horse-using tribes of the West.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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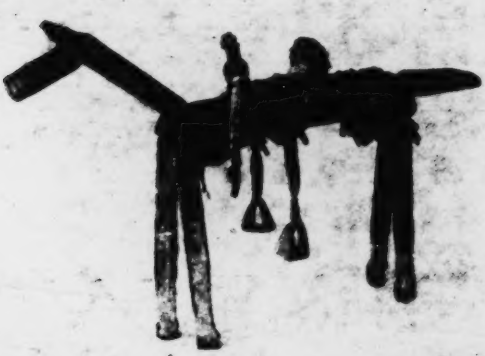

a

857

b

a. Child's toy horse of bent willow. Made in 1942 after an old Piegan pattern. (Courtesy Miss Jane Ewers.) *b*. Piegan boys playing calf roping at Heart Butte Sun Dance Encampment, summer 1944. (Courtesy Museum of the Plains Indian.)

[p. 358-K]

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

ion and the forms of pronominal affixes resemble those of the Ojibwa, Cree, and more eastern dialects; but etymologically, it seems to differ considerably more from all other Algonkian forms than these vary from each other."[32] This would in itself seem to argue for a long separation from the eastern groups, and is confirmed by historical data which shows that the Blackfoot were the earliest Algonkian people to inhabit the northern Plains in the historic period. Kroeber has used the divergence from eastern Algonkian languages to locate the Blackfoot at the footbills of the Rockies and concludes that they were "ancient occupants of the northern Plains."[33]

Cultural Affiliations

Distinctly western traits are discernable in items of Blackfoot material culture. Among these are the sinew-backed bow, quilted leather armor, horn utensils, moccasin types, and the hand game. The sinew-backed bow and quilted leather armor were first obtained from the northern Shoshone about 1730, when the latter were still east of the mountains,[34] and as late as 1810 the Blackfoot were still trading pemmican for sinew-backed bows with the tribes west of the mountains.[35]

Of the hand game, Wissler writes, "The particular form of the button used in the Blackfoot hand game seems to belong to the west of the Rocky mountains, to the coast and southward to the plateau. . . . The Blackfoot indifference to seed and button dice tends to class them with the western tribes. Neither the Blackfoot nor the Gros Ventre seem to have used the large hoop and double darts of the Dakota, Omaha, and Arapaho. Thus, in a general way, the Blackfoot fall into an ill-defined group comprising tribes on the headwaters of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. They seem on the whole to incline more toward the Plateau and Shoshone area, than to the Siouan or Algonkian."[36]

The case of the moccasin suggests the presence of eastern as well as western elements. The structural pattern common to the Thompson, Nez Perce, Sarsi, northern Shoshone, and western Cree, was substituted for an eastern type, while the old eastern style of decoration (U pattern), was retained.[37]

While the above material indicates that the Blackfoot were influenced

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[32] Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, p. 4.

[33] Kroeber, *Natural and Cultural Areas of North America*, p. 82.

[34] *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America* 1784–1812, Ed. by Joseph Burr Tyrell, pp. 330–332.

[35] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *Manuscript Journals*, p. 713–714.

[36] Wissler, "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[37] Wissler, "Structural Basis to the Decoration of Costumes Among the Plains Indians," *AMNH-AP*, Vol. 17, p. 107.

184 sample and appears closely related to income level. The care and
121 maintenance of these furnishings, however, is another matter and will
[511] be discussed later. Ownership of television sets and radios appears
[207] to depend more upon the availability of electricity than upon cultural
[377] factors or income. Sources of water, and the type of sanitation
[364] facilities appear to depend less upon cultural factors than they do
[312] upon where one lives and what sources of water or facilities for
sanitation are available.

[526] Because athletics have been a part of school and community
life for at least two generations, they may create interest or
[224] disinterest equally among the more-Indian and the more-white. Similarly,
[226] hunting and fishing are attractive to both Indian and white and are
engaged in as recreation rather than as a regular source of meat.

[524] Card playing has been widely accepted in the reservation
community and the fact of playing or not playing cards does not split
the population into orientation categories. The important thing about
card playing is not the playing but rather who plays with whom.

184 Other indices hold greater promise for differentiation. Items
177 concerning cultural orientation are most pertinent for the assessment
121 of degrees of acculturation. All of the population show the effects of
acculturation. Everyone, at least nominally, is a Christian; all live
in houses, wear predominantly western clothes, and gain their livelihood
in a wage economy. Almost everyone speaks some English. They buy their
food, clothing and other material wants from stores. It therefore
appears to be more useful to isolate variant retentions of some Blackfeet
cultural elements instead of attempting an assessment of the degree of
acceptance of white ways.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Indian Dance	Stick Game	Indian Societies	Indian Accent	Level of English	Church Attend.	Reading	West. Dance	Cards	Western Organi-zations	Visibility (A=High)	
2	attend				good	reg.	A		occ.	X	C	
3					good	rare	B		X		B	
5	attend-	X-			good	occ.	C		occ.		C	
6	attend-				good	occ.	A	X	occ.	X	D	
7	attend-				exc.	occ.	A	X	rare		D	
9	attend				fair	occ.	A				B+	
10	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.	occ.		A	
11	attend	X			good	occ.	C		occ.		B	
13	attend-	X			fair	occ.	A	X	X	X	B-	
14	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.			A	
17					good	rare	B	occ.	occ.		B	
18	attend-	X	X		good	occ.	C	?	occ.	X	A	
19	X-				exc.	occ.	A	X		X	C+	
21					good	occ.	A	X		X	D	
25	attend-				good	reg.	A	X	occ.	X	B	
26	X	X		X-	good	occ.	?		X-		B+	
27	attend	X		X	fair	occ.-	D				A	
28	attend-				good	occ.	A	occ.			B	
29	attend-	X-			poor	rare	B				A	
30					exc.	occ.	B		occ.		C-	
31	attend-				good	occ.	A		occ.		C	
32	attend	X-		X	fair	occ.-	B	occ.			A	
34					good	reg.	A	X	occ.		C	
35	X	X-	X		good	occ.	A	X	X	X	D	
37	attend-			?	fair	occ.	C		occ.		A	
38	attend-				good	reg.	B	X			B+	
39	attend			X	fair	occ.-	C				A	
43	attend-				good	occ.	B	X	X	X-	C	
45	attend-				good	occ.	C		occ.		C-	
46	attend-				fair	occ.	B		occ.	X-	C-	
47	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	D		X		A	

[535] [525] [575] [91] [717] [535] [524] [675] 184 177 121 106

106 separation, travel, better education, or some other factor which
121 might be important.
177
184
[191] The "Level of English" ratings, of course, are relative; those among the sample who speak least fluently are rated "fair" because people are known, outside the probability sample, who are much less fluent in their use of English. A "poor" rating is left open for such people.

[747] Church Attendance is included in the table because it is hoped that attendance at Christian services might give an index of variable commitment to Christian religion, as well as provide a measure of some typical interaction patterns. The most frequent rating in the column, "occasional" attendance, a translation of responses such as "once in a while," or "every now and then," does not appear to have diagnostic value. There remains a possibility that this information, expanded by available additional data, may have some significance when put within the context of sociocultural configurations that will be analyzed later.

[535] Western Dance is included to assess participation within a white social context and the ratings are self-explanatory.

[524] Cards, or card playing, has been mentioned previously and will be examined later if it is found to be a part of any meaningful configuration.

[575] Western Organizations membership is expected to indicate greater interest in activities related to white culture and possibly, according to the particular kind of organization--Veterans' clubs, Lions Club, Knights of Columbus, Masons, and similar lodges--give clues to striving for upward mobility within American society.

177 few of the white-oriented persons turned out. One white-oriented
184 informant went with us to one of the dances at Starr School and remarked
535 that this was the first time she had attended an Indian dance indoors. The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number) were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant attendance at the Indian Days programs.

Neighborhood Horse Races and Stick Games

177 The more Indian-oriented communities, Starr School, Heart Butte,
184 Little Badger and Two Medicine, alternately sponsored horse racing in
541 their neighborhoods. These were almost weekly affairs during the summer and fall, with those at Heart Butte the most frequent. Horse owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turned out to visit and watch the horses run.

[524] Stick games were played after the races, and at Heart Butte
[529] the games were a regular part of the year around weekend activities. A public game room was operated by one of the residents and an area in this room had been arranged for playing the stick game. This was a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte and drew a few visitors from other parts of the reservation.

The horse races attracted some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority of the crowd was Indian-oriented. Races were occasions for Indian people to get together to enjoy the races and each other's
[524] company. The stick games had a regular but more limited following and with few exceptions, players and observers were Indian-oriented.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

tourists, and occasionally carouse. The more conservative Indians eschew the Stampede. Forming a caravan of wagons "like old times," they proceed slowly to the Blood reserve. They pitch their tents on the gentle slope before Belly Butte to witness and rejoice in the Sun Dance of the Blood Indians.

By the end of July most have returned to the reserve. Food boxes empty and money gone, they must again turn to earning a living. Clusters of tents where a man and his brothers have joined to mow the prairie grass and haul it to the stock farm for feeding the calves in the coming winter are pitched for two or three weeks across the highlands of the reserve. It is hard but not unpleasant work. Saturday is pay-day. Immediately a hand game starts in one of the tents; night and day the whole week-end the drum-throb resounds with brief intermission across the range. On Sundays a big crowd from all over the reserve convenes for horse-races on a great plain where the men bet down to their last quarter on the bay or sorrel.

In the meantime others are busy stacking the bundles of rye and oats behind the mowers, happy in their luck to have the crop cut before it was destroyed by a sudden hail-storm. By September when the children have returned to the schools, the wheat is ready to harvest. Farmers eagerly await the threshing machine, so their crops may be finished early. Others are charged with moving the main herd of cattle to the winter feeding ground, while a lowing mass of calves is prodded into the corrals for wintering.

With farm work done, a tide of workers flows to the coal-mines. Some bring their families and move for the whole winter into the village of shacks that lies on the flat before the mine shaft. Others leave their families behind and don the miner's cap for a few weeks only. In full production scores of loads weigh in each week and are driven off to town. After work on Saturdays some people go to the movies in town, though many remain, crowding thirty or forty strong into one of the houses for a Deer Dance or a hand game.

By the time the first flurries of snow blow in from the west, the old people are settled in one of the clusters of log houses along the river. There, with rations, occasional money from the slaughter of a beef, and near to wood and water, they pass the winter with congenial friends who listen again to stories of a war party to the Crows. Certain younger man, hankering after a pool game in town, a bottle

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

the seven whose incomes we inspected no change of property through this channel occurred. 585 431

A funeral brings with it certain distributive features. First, to prevent the bereaved from hurting themselves, many people must be present at all times in the days after the death. They must be generously fed, for generosity is important at all times. Then the grave-diggers are given something for their services. After interment all property is disposed of. The terms of the will are carried out, though they are concerned with only a part of the possessions given away. A house is literally cleaned of everything in any way valuable. People take what they wish, and the personal property of the deceased may be burned, especially at the death of a wife or husband. If a woman dies, the farm implements are kept for the widower by some close relative to prevent their being given away. If a man dies, his farm implements are either willed to a relative or, in case of no will, are given away to a kinsman. When everything is gone, the nearest relatives are expected to care for the bereaved and at the suitable interval of time give them new clothing, blankets, and food with which to start life over again. 765 574 767 465 768 765 431

Only one of the seven whose expenditures we investigated[1] was influenced by death; the deceased was his father's sister. Our informant took care of the old lady before her death, and others helped to buy groceries. No mention was made of property being received at death, and it is probable that she had little or none to dispose of. Only occasionally is death important as a means of distribution. 76

Outside the family an important system of distribution is gambling. This takes four main forms: hand game, pool or "snooky," poker, and horse racing. The hand games occur most frequently, particularly where many families congregate, as at the hay camps or the mine village. It is difficult to estimate how much changes hands through the course of an evening; we have heard of individuals winning $30 in an all-night session. More often the gain or loss is $2 to $5. 525 524 541

Pool or "snooky," played by young men in the village pool hall, draws bets of 10 to 50 cents from the participants. Spectators may also enter the game via side bets, or novices may be lured into betting high stakes by a display of ineptness on the part of an expert who later will play in his true form to snare the sucker.

[1]Cf. Appendix B.

[See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

525 524 Poker, another importation, consists simply in dealing and showing the cards. There are no changing of bets, raising, or wild cards, characteristic of the white game. It is a grim, silent gambling game with little social pleasure where in an hour with several dozen hands one may win or lose a week's wages.

541 525 Horse racing is seasonal, occurring only in late summer. As with most Indian betting, two groups make up equal pots, and only two horses race at one time. Those betting on the winner take all the money. Relatively little changes hands through this means because of the infrequency of horse racing.

525 In general the thing distributed in gambling is money. However, articles of clothing, watches, and knives are not infrequently seen in the pot.

574 431 Visiting constitutes another form of distribution, and there are two distinguishable kinds: visiting on the reserve and visiting off the reserve. Visits between neighbours whom one sees frequently usually involve no exchange. A visit from a seldom seen friend or relative requires a gift. Occasionally, the person who anticipates the making of a visit may bring a gift with him so that there may be an exchange. The articles exchanged in these circumstances are usually clothing, blankets, and small articles of furniture. On one visit of an unexpected sort an Indian and his grandson stopped at a house for fifteen minutes; they came out with a wagon for the grandson.

Visiting the Blood, Piegan, or even Crow reserves differs in that there should always be an exchange of gifts, but the host should give more than the visitor who, being away from home, cannot have so much with him. This rule, however, is modified by the relative wealth of visitor and visited. It is felt, especially when Blackfoot visit poor relatives, that the Blackfoot are on the average wealthier and should give very generously. Certainly considerable property changes hands despite the dearth of cash. People prepare themselves weeks ahead for a visit by saving meat or money for the purchase of blankets and clothing. While at another reserve, Blackfoot frequently "help out" with groceries. There is a mild competition in the long run between reciprocating visitors, and at departure gossipers check over the situation carefully.

As a result of this gift-giving and display of generosity particularly towards the favourite visiting spot, the Blood reserve,

541 824 777 pressed onto the stems. Horses so cursed were sure to slacken in the race.

Another method made use of a quirt (or a rod). The sau-gas-sin was placed in the mouth, and the rider sprayed the quirt with the juice. This quirt was not used to whip the horse. When the race began, the rider would try to get on the right side of the other horses; he carried the magic quirt but whipped his horse with a regular one. At an opportune time the rider threw back the sprayed quirt, causing the other horses to fall behind.

Sometimes a man used a small, flat stone that had been sprayed with the root. When no one was looking it was thrown at the competing horse. That horse would trip, probably break a leg, and die; and its owner would be sick for days.

● 524 525 824 777 For use in the hand game, the root was kept in the mouth. This would make the other players lazy, and they would lose continually. But if a man was suspected of using the power root, there was a defense against its [825] influence. The loser went to his lodge (or to one nearby) and asked for a small piece of meat, which he combined with sun-sage leaves. Carrying this charm in his pocket, he returned to the gambling place, where he walked abruptly among the participants and took the dice in his hands. Then he pretended to sing and perform with the dice——all the while secretly rubbing [827] them with the meat-and-sage mixture. After he handed back the dice the man who had been using the sau-gas-sin would get a headache and grow lazy, losing all he had won.

824 777 [782] [695] The power root was used by ceremonialists to bless others with long life and good luck. Vows were made with sau-gas-sin, ceremony called for spitting on the hands and touching the head, shoulders, chest and hips: that insured the validity of whatever was said thereafter.

000 We have been told that the power root was once included in the rites of

LIST OF BUNDLES AND RELIGIOUS ARTIFACTS

ASSOCIATED WITH THE USE OF SWEET GRASS

778
824 INDEPENDENT BUNDLES

Bear Knife bundles
Beaver bundles
Big Smoke ceremony bundles
Birth Control bundles
[524] → Thunder Bands
[292] ← Ceremonial headdresses
[541] → Medicine hats (straight-ups)
Round Dance headdress
Half-white headdress
Half-red headdress
[411] → Split-horn headdress
Bear Medicine hat
Snake Horn headdress
[292] ← Ceremonial robes
Weasel-tail robe
[789] → Calf robe
Hairlock robe
[292] ← Ceremonial shirts
Weasel-tailed shirts (suits)
Hairlock shirts
Lord's shirt
War shirt
Ghost shirt
Thunder shirt
Deer Dance bundles
Black-tailed Deer Dance bundle
Ghost Dance bundles
Holy Hand Game bundles
Horse bundles
War bridle bundles
Mask bundles
Quirt bundles
Medicine bundles
Lances
Medicine lance
Bear spear
Name-giving bundles
Natoas bundles
Personal charms
Umbilical cord amulets
Otter bundles
Rattling Smoking Otter bundle
Personal war-charm bundles
Riding Big Dance bundles
Scalp Dance bundles
Buffalo Runner bundles

824 PLANTS IN CRAFT AND FOLKLORE

Abies lasiocarpa

The needles were used as a deodorant and were packed with stored items, saddle pads, or burned in a household smudge.

Acer glabrum

[386] [415] Small cases of the folded bark contained the grease which was mixed with ochre to make paint. A larger carrying case was made of the same material and worn under the left arm.

Allium spp.

[237] A piece of hide was dipped in a decoction of Allium bulb and used to shine arrows. The bulbs were also rubbed on quivers as a deodorant.

Amelanchier alnifolia

[431] Favors were asked while presenting a gift of four of the berries. The [524] receiver was obliged to return the goodwill. Girls played a game while [222] harvesting the berries. After some berries had been gathered the girls would sit together and hold their breath while another called out 'tops, tops, tops' at a regular beat. Each girl put a berry in her bag for every call and the one who held her breath the longest won all the other girls' berries.

Anemone patens

[522] Because the plant acted as vesicant, pranks were played on unsuspecting [514] people who would ask someone to fetch them some toilet paper. It worked especially well at night.

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

534 [776] The dry berries were put in rattles (Fig. 33). They were preferred over stones because they were lighter and didn't make dust, a constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1077]

[824] [534] problem during long ceremonies in which many rattles were used.

[196] [301] The dry berries were strung on necklaces.

This berry was the one used by the girl who escaped from the cannibal in the story of the Lost Children (Wissler, Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians, p. 128).

Artemisia campestris

[281] An infusion of the root was rubbed on a hide that was being tanned.

Artemisia frigida

For deodorant, saddles, (Fig. 34) womens' pillows, hide bags and quivers were stuffed with Artemisia frigida and A. ludoviciana.

[534] In the preparation of rattles, the skin was moulded around balls of the plant.

[237] [413] Paint applicators made from broken shoulder blades of buffalo or cattle were cleaned with A. frigida, then dipped in another color.

[751] Quantities of the plant were put on campfire coals and the smoke repelled mosquitoes.

[524] Children played a game of clubbing gophers unconcious and reviving them holding the crushed leaves to the animal's nostrils.

[281] Hides were treated with water in which the plant had been soaked or brewed.

Aster spp.

The various color forms of this genus were thought to be the effect of aging rather than indicative of taxonomic difference. The sequence went from white to blue and finally yellow.

[793] The Holy Woman of the Sun Dance wore a necklace of the yellow form.

[524] [857] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81]

824 Castilleja spp.

[524] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color and shine.

[386] Arrow feathers were dyed a light yellow by combining them with the flowers and keeping them under pressure for a few hours.

[281] The flowers were used to shine and waterproof hides.

The color forms were considered the effect of age, the sequence moving from white to red to yellow.

824 Clematis verticellaris
775
755

The plant, a creeping vine, was called "ghost rope" because it covered trees and bushes in a mysterious way. The leaves were used in the removal of "ghost bullets" (supernatural objects that were shot into people by ghosts). The bullets were removed by a diviner either with a sucking tube or through a slit in the skin made by a flint. Then the leaves were
[828] boiled and applied to the place where the bullets were removed. Fainting was often the result of coming near a ghost and the victim was revived with a smudge of the stem of this plant. At night, children wore the flowers in their hair to keep ghosts away.

824 Cornus stolonifera
773

According to a certain myth there was a time when the bark of this bush was white and not red. Naapi saw some gophers playing in the warm ashes of a campfire. They would bury each other in the ashes and when it got too hot they would cry out and the others would uncover them. Naapi joined the game and persuaded them all to get in the ashes. Only a pregnant gopher resisted and Naapi let her go, saying that she was necessary to propogate the species. Then he roasted the gophers and made a frame of cornus stolonifera which he used as a plate while he ate them. That was how the

[824] [775] bark turned red and to this day the grease from the gophers drips from the branches when they are heated.

[276] When the usual wood could not be found, the stems of C. stolonifera were used to make pipestems and tamps.

Delphinium bicolor

[386] The flowers were mixed in water and used to dye quills a light blue.

Elaeagnus commutata

This bush obtained the name "excrement smell" from the story of Naapi and the Gophers. Naapi punished his anus for failing to guard his roasted gophers from a lynx by hitting it with a branch of this plant. From that time on the wood smelled like excrement when it was burned and those who used it for firewood were chided for being lazy.

In craft, the seeds were cleaned, boiled, threaded and hung to dry. [301] Then they were greased and made into necklaces. Sometimes the seeds were [524] interspaced with Juniperus berries. Also, the bark of the bush was braided and used to whip the stone tops which children spun on the ice during winter. These whips usually lasted longer than the rawhide ones.

Epilobium angustifolium

[281] The flowers were rubbed on rawhide thongs and mittens for waterproofing.

[751] During the winter the powdered inner cortex was put on the hands and face to protect them from the cold. It was especially useful when the hands were uncovered for skinning, etc. When the powder was used, the hands would not hurt when they warmed up again.

Equisetum arvense

[524] Children used the plant to shine their bouncing arrows.

[751] The powdered stems were put in moccasins to avoid foot cramps when traveling long distances.

824 237 Also, the stems[A] were crushed and combined with porcupine quills which had been quartered longitudinally. Both were stored under pressure in a moose bladder-bag until the quills turned a light pink.

824 [386] [237] Evernia vulpina

A yellow dye was produced from pieces of this lichen which was combined under pressure with porcupine quills.

"Fish-backbone"

[281] The root was immersed in water which was later used to soak a green hide. Then the hide was stored for tanning.

Gaillardia aristata

[281] [758] The flower heads were rubbed on rawhide bags for waterproofing. Also, the flowerheads were used to absorb soups and broth and served as spoons for the sick and invalid.

Glycyrrhiza lepidota

The burrs of this plant received the name "Takes-a-Woman-By-Force" because, like a man to a woman, they attach themselves so readily.

[753] [755] It was believed that ghosts shot their victims with parts of the burr, thereby inflicting disease. If the "mysterious bullet" was not extracted by a diviner the patient was sure to die or his face would contort and he would go dumb.

[271] Buffalo runners kept the burrs in the mouth to protect against thirst.

Heracleum lantum

[534] 524 824 The hollow stems of the plant were made into children's flutes. They also served as toy blowgun, with bullets furnished by choke-cherry pits. Schaeffer records a variation of the blowgun idea amongst the South Peigan. Children would cut off a section of the dry stem and plug one end with a

A/The stems of Equisetum arvense--Analyst/

824 flowerhead of "gumweed" (probably Grindelia squarrosa). The stem[1] was filled
524 with water, the top end plugged in the same way and a stick was fitted into
[401] the bottom to afford a piston-like action for squirting the water out the far end. The child used his squirt-gun to kill crickets and such, after which he declared that he had "killed his meat".

[158] Infirm people would use the stems to suck soup and stew without raising up.

824 Hierchloe odorata

Saddles were packed with this grass (as well as sage) to keep them smelling good.

Juniperus spp.

[462] Women collected quantities of the berry, inserted small sticks through
[237] them, and dried them. Then grease was poured over campfire coals and the
[301] berries held in the thick smoke which turned them black. The berries were
[237] polished and strung on rawhide thongs for necklaces, wristlets, or clothing
[294] decorations. Sometimes they were interspersed with Eleagnus berries.

[281] Hides were yellowed in the smoke of the greased leaves.

"Kah-pook-see"

824 This wood was sought in the making of pipestems and was considered
435 very valuable because it was obtained only after hazardous travel into the
276 Big Horn River country. A horse and several blankets might be paid for a single piece suitable for one pipestem. Pipe tamps were made of the same wood.

824 Lithospernum ruderale
524 Children nicknamed this plant "holy turnip" and used the stems as
793 headpieces in their play, probably mimicking the affairs of the Holy Woman who owned the Natoas Bundle.

1./The stem of Heracleum lantum--Analyst/

824
[281] Lomatium triternatum

Animal pelts which were used in bundles were stuffed with the fruits of this plant during the tanning process and that kept them from smelling.

[777] A porcupine foot was stuffed with the fruits and tied on a young girl's
[237] hair as a good luck charm.

Lonicera involucrata

[262] The bush was named "bear eats them" because the berries were considered inedible by humans.

Lygodesmia juncea

[294] The stems, rich in latex, were crushed, put in a storage bag and later
[281] used as foot pads in moccasins. Also, newly tanned buffalo hides were
[386] ochred red with a mixture of the stem and ochre which actually waterproofed the hide.

Mammillaria vivipara

[522] Jokes were played on people by placing this cactus under covers, etc.

Monarda fistulosa

[758] The dry flowerheads were used by invalids for sucking broth and soup.
[281] Women used the dry flowerheads to apply water to a green hide which made it easier to scrape the hide with even strokes.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

Pieces of the root were kept in quivers and clothing as a deodorant.

[294] The stems were combined with ochre and the mixture applied to robes.

Oxytropus sericea

524
824 Children made headdresses with the stems, lined up (alternating boys and girls) and danced single-file to different spots while singing this song in unison: "there's nothing behind my back". The seeds would rattle

524 in their pods. Then the leader would suddenly stop and look behind him
824 while the others dropped to the ground. The leader struck whoever remained
[278] standing with a smoking stick which he carried. Then he took some of the
[752] seeds of the plant, chewed them and applied the mixture to the burn.
Shortly the irritation stopped and the game continued with changing leaders.

824 Perideridia gairdneri

[827] The plant was rubbed on arrows for shine and waterproofing. Buffalo runners chewed the roots to extend their endurance.

Phlox hoodii

[386] Apparently, a dye was obtained from this plant in the way as Evernia.

Pinus spp.

773
824 The origin of coniferous forests was told in the story of the woman who married a snake and later pursued her brothers who had killed the snake-being. While the boys were fleeing southward, one of them threw a porcupine tail which magically created a forest that sprang up as a barrier to the woman's detached head which rolled in hot pursuit. The woman had the special power of seeing through anything and soon spotted the boys on the other side of the forest. Meanwhile they prayed for the trees to have children and so replenish the barrier between them and certain death at the hands of the woman. The story continues with the creation of the mountains, etc.

824 Five variations of conifer were distinguished: "curly pine" (from the lichen growths on the branches of Pinus contorta), "mean pine" (also "sweet pine", Abies lasiocarpa), "tomato scent pine" (Thuja spp.), "red pine" (Pseudotsuga menziesii?), and "cedar pine" (Juniperus spp.?).

000 Travois and tipi poles were made from Pinus contorta while the young

186 522 mode, they were often considered awkward and clumsy. For example, it is said that they had to be taught to put ear-flaps on their lodges so that the smoke would be controlled.

824 This plant received the name, "Sarsi punctures-berry", because while the berries looked like the "real punctures-berry" (Ribes oxyacanthoides), they didn't taste as good and were considered "fakes".

524 824 Ribes oxyacanthoides

Children played a game with the berries of this bush. They sat in a circle and began counting to ten, each child counting one number around the circle. The tenth child would take five berries and eat them at once, trying his best not to show a bitter face. If he was successful, the child next to him would do the same and this would continue until one grimaced at the sour taste. He was then struck on the thigh with a knuckle-punch, thus giving the name "punctured-berry" to the plant. The child who never grimaced won all the others' berry supplies.

824 [262] Rubus parviflora

The berries were considered inedible and the plant named "bear-eats-them" to denote the fact.

[386] [281] The berries were used to dye tanned robes. They were smeared over a new hide and dried in the sun. Then they were scraped off and the hide polished until it shone.

The berry was applied to quivers to strengthen them.

Salix spp.

[534] A buzzing whistle was made by loosening the bark around a branch and blowing through it.

[352] [343] The boughs were cut and used in making back-rest slats and sweatlodge frames.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends. 794 796

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays. 788 782

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun. [432]

The Stick Game Dance.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall during the winter of 1910–1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them. As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is "medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs. 796 [177] [178] [121] [177] [121] [432] [424] [422]

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was 778 524

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

778 524 [422] [432] [302] [424] [784] conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

778 524 237 531 In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers. There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel [829] used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

796 524 [778] [782] [755] [302] [533] The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

eight games are to be played after which food is served. The two last guessers are required to pass the food. 796 524

Before Fish dreamed the stick game, Big-spring gave him a set as a present. After dreaming, Fish gave the first bundle to The-dog-takes-the-gun. The three men are related and for this reason pass the stick game bundle from one to the other. [173]

Fish dreamed of a man who came to give him the stick game bundle. The dream person carried the bundle on his left arm. His face was painted yellow and dotted all over. In his hair was tied an owl feather. Now, one of the guessers ties an owl feather in his hair when the game is played. Fish claims the stick game bundle to be very powerful. If a person be sick he may vow to play with the stick game owner in order that he may recover. When the game is played, the bundle owner paints and prays for the person with whom he is to play. On the other hand, the game must not necessarily be played when anyone is ill but can be played at any time. 524 778 [787] [237] [755]

Each stick is decorated with a six-inch owl feather. Two guessing sticks are wrapped with otter fur and decorated with bells. At each end is a tail-feather used in guessing. One of the guessing sticks is painted red, the other yellow. Fish only dreamed one song for the bundle but the rest of the stick game songs go with it. The same songs are used for the three stick game bundles on the reservation. There are some twenty of these and ten tapping-the-stick songs. The songs are sung at the beginning of the game, or when either side wins. Four or more cheering songs are sung when dancing after one side has won the game. [237] [531] [533]

When any member of a family is ill, the head of the family may vow to give a feast to the stick game owners so that the sick person may recover. The game takes place at his home. The owner of the stick game bundle sits at the head of the assembly. There are four or five drummers and four of the tapping-the-stick songs are sung. The owner unties the bundle placing ten of the waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick in one pile, and the rest in a second stack. His face is painted and a cross is marked on his forehead, on either cheek, and each palm. The players must not cheat during the game. Then he calls on the person giving the feast to feed him. The stick game owner makes a smudge and prays for the person giving the feast. He paints him and marks a cross on his forehead, each cheek, and the palms of his hand. The ten waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick are held over the smudge in one hand by the man giving the feast. The owner rubs the man's head and along his sides, meanwhile praying. He repeats the same evolutions with his wife. 796 524 755 [302] [302]

The woman spreads a blanket on the ground on which the game is played. An object beaded in yellow on one side and blue on the other is rolled on the blanket until one color is shown three times. The man chooses the blue, the woman the yellow side. Should the yellow be shown three times the woman will accordingly be the one to guess first and vice versa. The man and woman guessing each represent half of the crowd. Each passes the ten sticks as far as they will go on the side for whom they are playing. To win the game one side must obtain all the twenty sticks. During all these preliminaries the tapping-the-stick songs are sung.

In the beginning, two persons are selected to hide the bones. The two (?) who are to play sit in the center facing each other, first passing around the stove or fire as the case may be, the man around the right, the woman the left. Then the stick game songs are sung. Four of the crowd of men, women, and children are selected to play. The man and woman who are to guess pass around the players to the right

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 524 755 and left, respectively. Standing in front of the players, the woman guesses first, throwing the guessing sticks up and down and watching the eagle feather at the end, guessing according to the feather on the stick. The man then guesses for the players on the woman's side and if he should guess both, the woman returns the hiding bones to the man's players and the game is played over again. While playing they are very noisy and boisterous. This continues until either side has collected the twenty sticks, making the game.

The winners then rise and dance, singing the cheering songs, while the ones who lost remain seated. Between games there is a resting period, when the tapping-the-stick songs are sung while men and boys drum. Four games are played in all. After the fourth game there is a feast.

If a visitor from another tribe be present, the guesser may give a present to the visitor If a guesser loses a game, he may choose anyone from among the crowd and give him his guessing stick. Everyone losing a game does this. The stick game owner and all the others dress in their ordinary costume, the owner and the man promising to give the feast only having their faces painted as before mentioned. It is said that some of the hand game songs are sung with the others for this game.

[173] [171] [533] [187] The stick game dance songs are said to come from the Gros Ventre. Big-spring, the first owner, never used the bundle. He received it as a present from a Gros Ventre, then gave it to Fish who dreamed the ritual as stated. Later Fish dreamed and made up another bundle like the first with the exception of the feathers which are different There are three stick game bundles now.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

TWO LITTLE SISTERS
by Paula Weasel Head's Sister, Annie Red Crow

593 858 My father took my sister as his Minipoka, or favorite. I don't know why he picked her, but in those days it was a custom to do that. She got special treatment in whatever she did, and my father took her along to ceremonies and dances while I stayed home and played.

593 Not that our father treated me badly because of it. Sometimes he tried to get me initiated for some sacred thing at the same time as my sister, but I always ran away. I always preferred to play with my friends. I wasn't mistreated at all, but I sure was jealous because my sister was treated special. I used to do things to aggravate her. I would make certain faces at her, when no one was looking, and call her. "Ponah! Ponah!" I would say, quietly, and when she looked and saw my faces 551 she would get real mad. Her real name is Different-People Woman, but they named her Paula, like they named me Annie. Paula Iron and Annie Iron, we were called in school. The old people couldn't pronounce Paula, so they called her Ponah, and that name has stuck with her.

857 524 Right from the time we were young my sister knew a lot about Indian ways. We would make dolls out of cloth and buckskin, and we would put real hair on them. She knew how to make them real good. She had a little painted tipi, and it was even transferred to her with a ceremony. After that she started pouting around our parents because she didn't have a medicine pipe bundle for her tipi. Our parents had several of them, at different times. So they made her a little medicine pipe bundle to hang up in her tipi. She took care of it just like our mother took care of our real ones—that's how she learned to care for medicine bundles so good. This small one she had 852 778 wasn't transferred to her, it was just for imitation. But there

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

852 778 were a couple of small ones that were transferred to the children of well-off people. One of them is among the Bloods yet. It is known as the children's medicine pipe. When my husband, Frank, was still living we had this bundle transferred to one of our favorite granddaughters.

593 Whatever my sister wanted, she would only have to go to our father and act good and he would get it for her. If acting good didn't work, she would pout until he gave in. If I did that he got mad and chased me away. Our family was well
● 524 off in horses and property. He used to make her small play horses and put real horsehair on them. She had small travois to fit some of them. One of them had four little doll children with their heads sticking out of the travois pack, just like in real. She even had small bundles imitating the Horns Society and the Motokiks. That's why she joined in all these things while she was still young. I just joined the Motokiks lately, in my old age.

593 302 I remember one day, when we were young, that I sure made things miserable for my father and sister. Every morning he would paint our faces, so we would have good luck for the day. He would pray while painting us in front of the family altar. The old people used to do that all the time. My sister always insisted on being the first one to get painted, and my father always let her have her way. He would call her to get painted, and I would run away and hide. I didn't care about having my face painted.

Now, on this particular morning Ponah was sleeping late. I told my father: "Hurry up and paint me, because I am going out to ride my horse." He answered: "Wait, your sister is still sleeping." But I kept hurrying him, and finally I said: "I'm not going to have my face painted today if you don't do it right now." He must have been thinking how Ponah would act if he painted me first. But finally he agreed to paint my face, so that I could go out and leave him alone.

As soon as I got my face painted I ran outside, but I forgot

near them. If they did anything that might bring a bad name to the family they were punished quite severely—mostly by their own brothers.

Brothers and sisters were taught to respect each other from an early age. Girls were never allowed to dress improperly in front of their brothers. Some of these customs have gone on to the present time, I can tell you. I was the only girl in my family, and I had six brothers who watched over me. These customs sure caused me and some of my friends a lot of tears and heartaches—like when we had boy friends of whom our brothers didn't approve, or when we wanted to be in style and wear shorter skirts.

In the days when my grandmothers were little girls about the only toys they had were small replicas of the things their mothers worked with—small tipis and camping outfits, dolls and little cradleboards, and miniature tools for tanning and cooking food. They were told about the holy women who put up Sun Dances, with the hopes that they would learn to be honest, kind, and virtuous.

I have often heard that the old Indians sold their daughters. There is some truth to this, but mostly it is a misunderstanding of our customs. When a worthy young man married a respectable girl, both families exchanged presents. However, to win the approval of her parents, the young man first had to show her parents how generous he could be by sending them several fine horses and other property. Since the parents were losing a good household worker in the transaction, these valuables could be looked upon as a return on their investment of having raised the daughter to her prime. I imagine some parents thought of the matter in these terms—especially fathers who had a number of sons. Keep in mind that the daughter's marriage meant she would then be obligated to her husband and his family. Often her parents hardly saw her anymore after the marriage.

The way that a young man first gave notice of his desire for

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

with beads. Such articles included moccasins, vests, cradleboards, bags, and purses. Beaded designs of leaves and colorful flowers became very popular. 175 531

TOYS

Traditional Blackfoot toys were mainly dolls, or miniature replicas of all the things used by adults. The dolls were made mostly by women, even though boys and girls both played with them. Otherwise, toys for boys were usually made by their fathers, while those for girls were made by their mothers. These toys were usually treasured, and the smaller ones were kept in special rawhide bags. 524

There were all kinds of dolls, from the simple ones of willow sticks, with cut-off branches for arms and legs, to the fancy ones with fully beaded clothing and real human hair. Older girls were given dolls complete with small tipis and other household furnishings, sometimes even small medicine bundles. Cradleboards, baby dolls, and horses with travois for hauling the household effects were also popular.

Favorite toys for boys included bows and arrows, whips and spinning tops, drums and other instruments, and horse gear. Dolls in the shape of boys and warriors were also common. Boys always looked for branches and pieces of trees that they could use for imitation horses to practice bucking, racing, and general riding.

CRADLEBOARDS

Traditional Blackfoot mothers carried their babies in cradleboards to protect them. The frames for these used to be made out of willow branches, curved, tied, and cross-braced. Later they were made out of large, sturdy boards sawed to the desired shape. Either way, they are covered with several 854

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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302
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524

Typical Blood boys in 1885, at the end of the old war days. The older boys have on blanket coats, while the younger one has a shirt made from a flour sack. His leggings are of wool trade cloth. They all have children's bows and arrows without metal tips. These boys were the Old Man's contemporaries. (Boorne & May)

[p. 181-A]

524

We used to play a game with bows and arrows; we put mud balls on the points. We had mock wars. People from the opposite ends of the reserve would shoot at each other with the mud-tipped arrows and the winners would keep all the arrows. We played a hoop game and in the spring when the geese came back, all the women and the men played ball games. Kids used to go out on the prairie and [857] play. We would snare gophers, then take them [224] home and cook them and eat them. They were [262] not too bad.

535 541

I was a very good dancer. Everyone used to watch me. I was always the first one out on the dance floor when I was young. . . . I always danced at the stampede and exhibitions they had in Fort MacLeod and in Lethbridge and several times I danced at the Calgary Stampede, once on the back of a flat trailer.

535 541 177 484

The most important place I ever danced at was in Banff, when Long-Faced Crow [Wilson] took us up there to entertain some officials. Fifty-five of us went up there by train. We took along several painted lodges to sleep in. They drove us out to the buffalo paddock in cars and I remember some of the Old Men, like Natosina, talking about how they would like to have a bow and arrow and go in there for just one more buffalo. They really liked seeing buffalo again. We had ten tipis set up; most of the men brought their wives along.

535 541 177

When we got ready to dance for all the white people in Banff, Wilson told me not to wear any clothes, just to wear my breechcloth and to dance with my hoops. My moccasins were fully beaded with white background and I had paint all over my body. There were several people taking pictures of me, some of them with those big cameras that they put their heads inside of. I never saw any of the pictures. The other Bloods that were along illustrated all kinds of things from the Old Days. They had mock battles and horse raids and they put up tipis. Natosina even led a Nighttime ceremony for them inside the big

The Baker Massacre

I was born seventy-nine winters ago on Yellow (Judith) River. 000
My father, Bear Head, was a tall, handsome man and a great warrior. My mother, Fair Singing Woman, was beautiful. Though quite young, she had even then become a sacred woman, one of the women who, every summer, build a great lodge to give to Sun. Dearly my father and mother loved me, and I loved them. As soon as I could walk, my mother furnished me with soft, beaded, deer leather clothes for summer, furs for winter. And my father gave me little bows and 868
arrows and taught me to ride gentle horses; gave me six horses when 524
I was in my sixth winter. Four of them were mares, so I was soon having quite a band of horses of my own. I loved to play with the [776]
boys, and I loved to sit before the evening lodge fires listening to the warriors and hunters telling of their brave deeds—the old men telling of the power and goodness of Sun and all the other gods.

Came my eighth summer, and my father, getting ready to go with 701
a party against some of our enemies, said that I must go, too. My 702
mother objected; cried; said that I was too young to go to war, that it would be too dangerous for her little one. Said my father to her: "Last night, as I slept, Sun gave me a vision. We were a war party. [787]
Our young one was traveling at my side. We discovered enemies, fought, and killed them. The meaning of that is plain. It is that your young First Rider goes with me, with our party, and that he will survive the dangers that we encounter. And well you know that I was of his age when I first took to the war trail. So must he now go. I shall make of him a real warrior."

First Rider—that was the name given me when I was born; given [551]
me by an old medicine man because of one of his visions, in which he [553]
saw a member of a war party be first to take an enemy horse and [787]
ride it off.

Well, my mother knew that my father would have his way about me, so she made no more objection to my going but got together the things that I would need, extra pairs of moccasins, a rope, awl, and sinew thread; and crying, she said to me: "You have to go. I shall [782]
pray, constantly pray the Above Ones to give you safe return to me."

I was eager to go. I wanted to become a great warrior, kill many enemies, take many enemy horses, and so be honored, made a chief by

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 854 dressed skin, in which condition it passed the first year of its life. Upon the march it was carried upon its mother's back, either secured with straps or more commonly supported in a fold of her robe or blanket. It was sometimes thus carried while the mother pursued the ordinary avocations of the camp, but under such circumstances it was ordinarily set away in some suitable place. It was also a very common practice to suspend it by cords to the poles in the interior of the lodge, where it was permitted to hang 857 at rest or was swung back and forth as in a cradle. The sports of the children were such as comported with their savage life, being largely made up of imitations of the pur- 524 suits to which they were destined in after years. The girls played housekeeping after the Indian fashion of that art, built miniature lodges, collected little bundles of wood and made travails. The boys sometimes spun a top of ordinary construction, putting it in motion with the hands and then by a skillful touch repeated at intervals, keeping it spinning often for half an hour. They also had a game of ball, which was played by choosing sides, and then arraying themselves opposite each other, attempting by means of a wooden bat to drive a ball through each other's ranks to [237] a given point beyond. The ball used was about the size of a baseball and made of wound hair, covered with 868 dressed skin. The boys were furnished with a bow and arrows at an early age and given lessons in horsemanship as soon as they could sit on a horse. A youth of twelve [858] years was usually a fair hunter and a good horseman. The girls were employed in the drudgery of the camp as soon as they were old enough to work, but the boys were exempted from all labor except that of herding horses. They were assigned to this duty as soon as they could be trusted to ride, which was about the age of six or seven years.

GAMES

524 Foremost among the games of the Blackfeet was one which from want of knowledge of its Indian name we may denominate Blackfoot billiards. A hard soil was chosen as the place of the game, where a space about six feet wide

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 by thirty in length was cleared of obstructions and rendered as smooth as possible. A ring of bone, stone or metal about two and one-half inches in diameter was provided, across which were stretched two beaded strings, crossing in the center of the ring at right angles. Two players participated in the game, each of whom was provided with a small stick about six feet long, one end of which terminated in a small hook. Standing side by side at one end of the prepared place, one of the players tossed the ring so as to roll it along the ground in their front, when both started after it together, throwing their sticks in advance of the ring with the object of catching it upon the hook. The players then resume their stations and throw the ring and follow it as before. A stick of wood is placed across the farther end of the course to stop the ring in the event of both players failing to catch it upon his hook. The writer has been unable to learn with certainty the manner of counting the game, but it appears to have been determined by the particular division of the ring (made by the crossed strings) in which the hook was [525] caught. Large amounts were often staked upon the game and the players would become so interested as frequently [171] to continue it the entire day. A very similar game was described by Catlin as prevalent among the Mandans, but it differed in several particulars.

541 The men also played the game of ball already described and in summer horse racing was a favorite amusement, [525] the course being usually three or four miles. As in civilized society extensive betting accompanied every race and there was nothing the Blackfoot gambler was not ready to stake except his liberty and his wife.

524 Another favorite gambling game was that of Open and
525 Shut. It was played by any number of persons, divided [533] into two sides, who sat facing each other on the ground, and, while all sang a particular song, some member of one side passed some small article back and forth in his hands endeavoring to conceal in which hand it finally rested. If guessed correctly his side paid a forfeit, otherwise it received one from the other side.

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 The women had certain games peculiar to themselves. The principal one was played with six pieces of flat bone, six or seven inches long, shaved thin and sharpened at the needs and marked on both sides with peculiar lines, each side different from the rest. Two squaws played the game seated on the ground facing each other. The pieces of bone were all gathered in the hand and thrown edgewise on the ground, when the marks were counted on the sides that fell upward, the throw alternating between the players according to the count. They played another game called "The Bowl and Counters." The bowl was of wood, six or seven inches in diameter, and contained five flat seeds differently marked, which were tossed up and caught as they fell, the exposed sides being counted as in the case of
[525] the sticks. The women were almost as much addicted to gambling as the men and only their limited leisure and inadequate means prevented them from rivaling quite the sterner sex.

The Blackfeet had no games that could be considered merely social, and the men and women rarely played their games in common. This happened occasionally, however, more frequently in the game of ball. It should be added
[177] that the squaws frequently played ball alone. When playing cards were introduced they rapidly superseded all their former games except billiards and ball.

MUSIC

534 The Blackfeet had but two instruments of music, the drum and the flageolet. The former has already been described. The drum was used only as an accompaniment to the dance or in the incantations of the medicine men. The flageolet bore a crude resemblance to the civilized instrument, upon which some of the young men played a few simple melodies, always in the evening and usually by
[533] way of serenade. These instruments were very rare. The Blackfeet possessed quite a variety of songs, but all designed to accompany their dances or games. (See Songs).

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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but only the meat carried by them]. That woman [the mother-in-law] would pull the meat down [from the horses]. All the choicest parts of the meat he gave to his father-in-law. And if the girl [the young-married woman] was foolish, if she had a side-husband, then he [her husband] would kill her. He would not be ashamed of her father, his father-in-law.

539 Nepúsi nâχkáipæskau. Nitái-
535 niχ'katomamìχ'k opáskani satsi-
kínamaipæskàn. Nínaiks iχ'táu-
taksaistoiauaie, máχksipæskàni:
O'kí, anétakìt, áχkitunnasatsikì-
namaipæskàup. Annístsi matáinis-
tainiχ'katòm otákòpiχ'tàn. A'n-
nistsìi onâ'χksisotàpsìmiks áinà-
natòmian. A'kéks áikæχtsìiχ'kiau.
Oχkíni ænnístsisk otsítakæχ-
539 tspuàuaists. Nisóiaists. A'nni ni-
524 tánnokakinakuiàu. A'nni nitoá-
piksimàists. Nátokaists nitáiniχ'-
katòm, pitséksinai. Kænnístsi nátо-
kai nitáiniχ'katòm, kanáumoχ-
pìisaists, náu. Nistókiòmoχpìi-
saists, namístokiau nitáiniχ'katò-
maists omikátsimàn. Annístsi
àkéks: Mistsísi áipiksiìnimiauaists.
Inoksíaists. Iχ'tæstamàkaχtsìau-
aists. Nitáinikatâ'χp istámakaχ-
tsìsin. A'kéks ánnyaie nitáikaχ-
tsìau. Nínaiks áipeksikaχtsìau.
Kepúyi otsítsitskimatsoàuaists.
Omá túkskaie otsimán inoyíu,
ksisátàtsisi. Ki annóksi tapóχtsik
otsinánoaii saχkíu. A'nnistsiaie
nitáksisatàiau. Kinímiua áumo-
tsùkiu. Mátsitstsìi pápainimìksai.
Nitáiniχ'kataiìu áipèksiksisatài.

In summer they [the Peigans] had a dance. They called their dance „scrape-leg-dance". The chiefs went through the camp crying, that they would have a dance: Come on, make haste, that we may have a scrape-leg-dance. They called some other dances of theirs their „main-dances". Their warriors owned those [main-dances]. The women gambled. It was with bones, that they gambled. There were four of them [of those bones]. This is the length of the bones. This way they threw them. [Saying the last two sentences Blood showed me, how long the bones were, and how they were thrown]. They called two of them „snakes". The other two, if they turned over, were called „six". If the two turned over twice, then they were called „falling on the edge". Another [game] [that] the women [had] [is as follows]: They peeled sticks. They were long sticks. They played a stake-game with them. It was called the „stake-game". That is

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Sotámatoχkuikaχtsìau. Mistsists itástoχtòmiau. A'itaχsapitsìnimiau. A'itsokàpsksotùnnimiàuaists. Kàmiχ'táists åχsókapòχtsi itâ'χtòmiau. Nitáiåχtsim, ksíkstakiks oχpékioàuaists ánnistsiaie áuaiakètsistatunìmiau. Itáipotoχtomiauaists. Itauáiikinapìmiauaists. Mikapíksuyìiks ánniksi áisautoyìau. A'nni nitáisikaχksìnitsìau. A'nniksinie noχtátsimistsiau. A'nnyaie nâ'χkanistatsìuaχkaiau. Omístsi ómonatsòaiau, ánnistsiaie nitáumatapitsiuàikaχtsìau. Omístsim otápskanoàuaists osókàsimoaiàuaists. Makokímiaists. Matsónuàiks mátapskatsìau. A'nnistsimaie áimasinatòmiau. A'iksistápaiåkoχtosauàists, itáumatapimotsèiau. A'isokaníau: A'kipsimiop. Ki ánniksi àisokaníau: Kátaimì? Túkskama saíimisi, mátakoχkuyìuatsiks, paχtsísaisksinisàie, maχksímis. A'kitaumatapitsìuaikaχtsìau, omíksim otákàuaiau itáupiau. Omístsim otápskanoàuaists áupàtsimìau. Kékisau, ánniksimaie ákauanistsìau: the way, the women played. The men had a wonderful game. They had ten [sticks] for pointers. The [stick] of [the players on] one [side] was long, it was a hider [to be hidden in the hand]. And the [stick] of those on the other side was short. Those were the [sticks], they hid. A good player won the game. There were some that dreamed about the stick-game. They [those that had such dreams] were called the „wonderful hiders".

Then they had another game. They put sticks on each end. They knocked [the ground] smooth. Then they threw loose earth [over that ground] in good shape [so that it was level]. They put buffalo-chips on the back-side [of the sticks]. I heard, [that] they split beaver-teeth in two [to make the circle of the gambling-wheel]. They put them [those teeth] together. Then they wrapped them together. They took [the bark] off from the red willows. That way [Blood said this, while he was showing to me, how] they cut [the willow-bark] in different pieces. With those they made the counters. That is the way, they made the gambling-wheel. With arrow-shooting they started the wheel-game. They [the players] put their clothes on a bet. They were clothes of old lodges. They put their leggings also on a bet. On those they used counters. [When] they had done putting them about [when they had done

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

524 525 Apáukit túkskaie. Ki omá túkakæm ákoχkatsikèkiu. Otákài ákitanistsiu: Napí, nâχkopáukit nátòkai. Amótsotsìsau, àitskaátsiuaie. Náχkipitàkàpsk. Maiáii pæχkíuaie. Omá manikấpi matápskatòmaie óχpsists, otsítànists kétokiokàtsisaists, o'ós otsímmoiètan, osáutatsiksìketan, ánnistsiaie ápskatòm. Omák ákauχtàk ánniaie nitauápskau, nitáikaχtsìu.

putting a value on each article], then they began to roll the wheel and shoot against one another. They would say: We will [stop and] have a drink for a moment. And others would say: Is it deep? [that means: if you do not shoot, it is a go!] If it was not deep on the other side, [one] would have none, if he happened to forget, that it should be deep [that means: if the other one did not shoot, his partner would have no points, if he happened to forget to shoot]. [When] they would begin to play the wheel-game, their partners were sitting over there. They sat for the things that they put a bet on [to keep counters]. When they gained a point, they [the others] would say to them: Give me one point. And the other one would also gain a point. He would say to his partner: Partner, give me two points. When they beat one another, [the one that lost] was made to walk the prairie [that means: he had to put a bet on things, he had not with him, but in his lodge]. [Then he would say:] Let me begin to make my bets. His robe was a cow-skin. A young man would also put on a bet his arrows, his saddles — they were [so-called] prairie-chicken-traps —, the belly-part of his robe — his saddle-blanket —, his outside-top-saddle-blanket; those were the things he put on a bet. That was the way, the people of long

Kipitákeks áumikamàiiau. Makokímisokasimiâuaists. Einíua asipísts, ánnistsiaie iíχ'tauâχkánnimiau. Oχkíni oksíks. Iksímakàpsii nâχkoáksistotòχsiks. Annái â'χkanaikokìmistotòχsiu. A'ukokimitsiu. Mîkatokì maiáiks. Mokúiniaiks. O'χkotokì óχkiks. Á'nnistsiaie nâχkitápauyàpsiu. Oχkíni ótstaχtsists. Mistsísi óχkotokì omâχtástaiiχ'piks. O'χpsists óχkotokì, oksísakopàists. Otoníistsi apáuki. Mátsitstsìpa ponokâ'mitaiks. Iminâiks áunistsiuaiks okóaists. Á'nnimaie nâχkitâ'χtom. Stsíkiks ámo onâ'χksèkanì mátsitaiisksìmmatau. Kánnístsi áiistaχtòm. Nepúsi nitápauauatùtsiu. A'nnaχkaie æskχsáipiskiu. Noχtástokoχkòyiu. A'kstuyis, ákaisauoχsoχkim, piksíks otsitsípoχkspì. O'maχksikimists otakóχtsi mamíniks itáumatapsekòtoyiu. Osáiχ'kimaχkànists ki otoχkomístàtsists ánniaie nitáiâχkoàpàtsiau nínaiks. Aistúyis, itáiksisapistutsiu. A'moists kanáipiskaists, mistákskuists, ánnistskaie mátoχkokyàpokonayìua. Kapsécks áiniuaχkatsìuaiks. Kiníks mátainiuaχkatsìuaiks. Annístsi nitâiniχ'katâχpi paχsíists. Ki amóksi másaiks nitâ'χkanistâ'χkanitaiχ'tsìau. Istuyísi nínaiks ámikamàstaammòkiau. Kánnyaie nanístsksinoau, nanistáuχtsimatàu. Mátsokapsksinoau.

ago used to bet, [and] used to play. 539 524 525

[Some of the following particulars refer, of course, to a more remote period than that, of which Blood has given a picture in the foregoing pages.] The robes of the old women were made of strips [sewed together]. Their dresses were made of old lodges. They used to sew them with the sinews of the buffalo. Bones were their awls. Very few [of the ancient Peigans] had antelope-dresses. All the other people wore old lodges for clothing. From an old lodge they made their leggings. Their robes were made from the hides of young buffalo [literally: were young buffalo]. They were buffalo killed in the fall of the year. Stones were their pots. From those they got their food. Bones were their scrapers. Sticks [and] stones were things, they [also] scraped with. Their arrow-points were stones, they were flints. Their knives were flint. There were no horses. They packed their lodges on dogs. There [on the dogs] they would put them. Some of the people put their beddings also on [dogs]. And they packed the other things themselves [on their own backs]. In summer-time they moved about. Those were the people, [that] were always corralling. From that they got plenty to eat. When it would soon be winter, they were already near [the places], where the fowl

121 539 291 [283] [412] [224] 539 [415] [412] [231] [402] [482] 539 221

wish anyone to become aware of the reason you will make it known. I am sure that I could live at the Chief's house for any length of time, without any questions about why I am here or why I don't get a job, etc. 122 [157]

Curiosity as to the Chief's destination gnawed me raw, though, and finally an opening came when Jim—after a prolonged study of the twelve-year-old calendar which has been retired on a nail above the washbasin—turned to me and asked, "What's the today?" I informed him that the today was Wednesday, September 5, 1962, and boldly followed up my advantage by inquiring why he wanted to know. He told me that some of the older Indians are eligible to receive government surplus food ("commodities," the local term is) such as rice, flour, powdered milk, lard, peanut butter, etc. The Chief was to pick up his commodities today, and this fact led into a very interesting discussion with Jim, who is a marvelous linguistic informant. Any linguist is aware that those autochthonous languages which have no written form are subject to constant and at times very rapid change, but I had no idea that so much of the Blackfoot language is of such recent—actually contemporary—vintage. As an example, Blackfoot terms for the days of the week are obviously less than a century old because they are phrases which suggest the life of the Blackfoots *after* they were confined to the White Man's reservation. Sunday is "Holy Day," or "The day upon which we attend church." Other days are identified by such terms as, "The day on which we receive our rations," "The day on which nothing happens," etc. 122 657 [115] 197

This was supposed to be the day on which we receive our rations, but it turned out to be the day on which nothing happens. In town I let Jim and the Chief off at the Tribal Office ("I'll jumped off here," said Jim), and while they conducted some business or other I went up to the Browning school and took some pictures of the kids on the playground. The school serves not only Browning but several neighboring communities, and all of the school children appeared to be either Indians or Swedes. The typical picture was that of a raven-tressed little Indian girl arm-in-arm with a cotton-blond playmate, and everybody appeared to be as happy and as healthy as could be—even the tiny ones were swinging high on the swings, hand-walking along the bars, and performing various other athletic feats. And something new has been added since I was in grade school: the kids crook a knee over the pipe railing along the sidewalk, grab their ankle, tuck the other leg in somehow, and whirl around like pinwheels. This appeared to be a girls' game—at least I did not see 122 [126] [524]

any of the boys participating. The girls—those little hams—were fighting to have movies made of themselves, but the boys, quite typically, were quick to run away. The boy with the three long braids was there, but I could not get a good shot of him. Jim says that the boy's name is Door or Dore (sp?), and that his mother rinses his lustrous long hair in tea.

After I had picked up Jim and the Chief, we drove out to the Museum of the Plains Indian, on the "skirt" of town, as Jim says. Outside the museum building there is an Indian version of Grauman's Chinese Theatre; many years ago the great chiefs of the Plains Tribes had their footprints recorded there in bronze. The Chief is the only one of these great chiefs still living, and I had a very strange feeling of anachronism—as though both the Chief and I belonged to a different period of history—as I took a photo of the Chief standing next to the footprints that he had made so long ago.

These cameras of mine are turning me into a genuine tourist, but thus far, at least, I have not begun to take pictures of *myself*.

We left the museum and went back in town and stopped at the Agency, where the Chief was supposed to pick up his commodities. I waited outside in the wagon, and pretty soon came the Chief, minus rations but bursting with a fiercely contained dignity. Nobody said word one, and in silence we drove back to the ranch and had a good lunch of porkchops (pig is *ik-sin-nee*, meaning "they grunt"), boiled potatoes, canned peas, bread and strawberry jam, and hot tea.

The Chief ate well, but in silence, and it was not until he had seated himself in his chair in the living-room and leisurely finished smoking a post-prandial cigar that he beckoned Jim and me close and launched into the fiery and truly magnificent oratory for which he has so long been famous. He sat very straight and tall, his fine, orbicular head held high. And as the thunderous old voice rumbled, and the huge old hands sculptured power and beauty in the air, the oscillatory motion of the great brown jaw added a synchronal measure of authority to the old fellow's declarations.

The Chief was speaking rapidly, and he was using oratorical forms—not the simple phrases which he and Jim thoughtfully employ in addressing me—and I could not follow the discourse. A Blackfoot word which I knew to mean *card* or *ticket* was repeated several times, and during a pause for translation Jim explained that in this case the word was being used to refer to a ration card. The Chief had forgotten to take his ration card to town today, and the Agency had refused to issue him his commodities without it, and

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

122 and white-painted log structure about half-way to town. Met one of
[126] the teachers, Mrs. Eagle Feather, and she was very nice. A young
[875] Indian man was attempting to repair one of the swings on the playground. I loaned him a pair of pliers, and darn if the ingrate didn't try to make off with them. I am so simpatico with the Indian personality that I have difficulty in remembering that I am still dealing with individuals, and it is always an inordinate disappointment when I meet a rascally Indian. Jim says that there is an element on the Reservation which regards thievery lightly and which will make off with anything not bolted down. Isn't there everywhere, though!

I found the Chief standing on a street corner with "Popeye," the gawky drunk I met in the bar that first night. I thought they were together, so when Popeye asked if he could go along with the Chief and I as we searched for Jim, I said O.K. But when Popeye got into the car, the Chief angrily got out again, declaring that he would not ride with that *"aú-wah-tsahps'"* (screwball). So I told Popeye to get out, and the Chief and I drove to the garage to which Jim had taken his car for repairs. Several Indian tykes were at play near the garage. They were all under five, and all of them, both boys
[524] and girls, had braids. They had bows and arrows and feathered coup-sticks and were playing at Indian warfare.

122 The three of us went to the Tribal Office, where the Tribal Coun-
643 cil meeting was to be held in a large meeting-room. There are thirteen Council members, elected every two years, with an executive committee composed of the Chairman, the Vice-chairman, and the Secretary. In past years, the Council was unpaid, but starting with this year the members are salaried.

The Chairman ("Sherman," Jimmy calls it) was absent, the meeting being presided over by the vice-sherman. Most of the participants sat around a seminar table, but two men sat back against the wall. One of these was a White man who apparently functioned in an advisory capacity. He was middle-aged, bespectacled, and a chain-smoker, making intelligent, articulate comments with a cigarette dangling from his mouth. At the table was one very attractive Indian girl, taking notes. I am kind of hungry for some female company, and I guess I must have stared at her—with prurient arch of eyebrow and twirl of moustache, if I know me—because eventually, in typical White-girl fashion, she fiddled with her hair until I got a good look at her ring.

Dad and I, along with about fifty other observers, mostly older Indians, sat on wooden benches at one end of the room. Jim sat

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings about one another and attempt to discourage external rela-
562 tions. Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
593 strained relations between brother and sister to the aggressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the rough and tumble of parental marital crises and intercultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and, therefore, they select activities that they do well. What the young man does well has to do with his general back-
[541] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally connected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

524 barrel" for practice and sport. Little boys whose fathers have not owned a horse in years practice and play by the 526 hour on this device. Others, without horses or livestock, turn to track and field, a sport that is quite popular on [555] the Reserve. The attraction of this selection is the recognition gained during the annual athletic "field days" at Stand-off and Moses Lake. Other activities for the non-equestrian young man are basketball, softball, baseball, or hockey. All are viewed as the white-man activities, and command a limited but interested following. Each of the schools on the Reserve fields teams in these sports. Among the sample members there are two excellent basketball players, a few baseball and softball players, and a number of hockey enthusiasts. Related to these white-man sports is boxing. As can be seen from the popularity of this sport as a "favorite" among the young men, it is another [555] important athletic activity. Finally, some of the young men who do not excel at any of the sports strive to gain recognition in some other ways, often in their studies.

Summary of the Life History

159 The young man of the Blood Reserve can be seen as a vigorous individualist who orients himself toward personal achievement and self gratification. However, he relates this achievement to his acceptance by his peers or to feel-